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316 Sinkiang. One lies near Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang and the other is in the Kuldja area in the Ili river basin. Data are collected for designing a modern coal mine in the Urumchi coal field where large deposits of good steam coal have been proved to exist. The two coal fields will in time supply fuel for the Lanchow-Urumchi-Alma Ata Railway Line which is now under rapid construction.

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316 Coal Mining and Its Production:

While the Northwest leads in coal reserve among the major geographical and administrative areas, its production is still small compared to the Northeast and North China. This has been mainly due to the difficulty in transportation and backward mining techniques. At present, the only mining of importance takes place in Tung-kuan near Sian in Shensi, at A-kan-chen near Lanchow in Kansu and at Urumchi in Sinkiang. They are close to the populous administrative centers of the three provinces. The coal mine at Tung-kuan is connected by a sixty mile long sideline of the Lung-hai Railway at Hsien-yang which is close to Sian, the capital of Shensi. A number of the small mines in Tung-kuan are still privately owned. But since 1954, the Government has taken over control of production and sale of ninety-five percent of the coal production in these mines. The villagers were conscripted to transport the coal by mule collier carrier and ox cart (TKT, June 17, 1954). In addition, primitive coal mines for local use are also found at Pai-shui, Pu-cheng, and Lung-hsien.

The chief coal mine worked in Kansu is in A-kan-chen, near Lanchow, where primitive methods are still used. There are other coal mines in Liang-tang, Wu-tu, Min-hsien, Tien-shui, and Cheng-hsien. Small coal mines are also located along the eastern foothills of the Ho-lan-shan Range between the districts of Chung-wei and Teng-kou in former Ninghsia province. Production will be increased when adequate machinery is supplied.

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316 Coal mining in Sinkiang is also carried on mainly by primitive methods which are crude and cumbersome. Up to the present the coal mined has only been used locally. Because of the primitive nature of mining, many accidents occur and the fatality rate is high.

The major coal producing areas are at Ta-cheng and Tihua and Hami on both sides of the Tien-shan mountains. Considerable coal mining is done on a small scale for local consumption as fuel, but extensive development of coal reserves must await the completion of the Kansu-Sinkiang Railway. At present, eight coal fields are being worked near Tihua (1955-56), which extend to about fifty kilometers, having thirty seams. In addition to Urumchi, coal deposits are apparently also being

LABOR

I. "Free Labor"

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464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. Moreover, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem. To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the Northwest. For instance, the communication department of Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transferred to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

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464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has however also been amply used; Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mobility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi Khotan "New Khotan":

In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen, former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Chochiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there. The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

* 668 unity among the major national and ethnic groups. Neither have really succeeded in achieving their aims. On the other hand, it was in the Northwest that the Chinese Communists first came to power. In the 1930's, the headquarters of Chinese Communism was at Yen-an, and the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region became the basis of their might. After 1949, the Northwest was regarded as one of the "old liberated areas," and the birthplace of the new regime.

* 668 IV. Dissatisfaction with Communist Regime
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With the establishment of Communist administration, new reasons for discontent have arisen, while many of the old ones have not been remedied. In the first place, it is obvious that Islam, or any of the other religions of the Northwest, is basically incompatible with Marxism, a materialistic philosophy and a way of life that excludes any belief in the supernatural. Secondly, after centuries of relative freedom, if not of independence, Communism has brought to the nomadic tribes of the Northwest a system of government that is more centralized than any previous one in modern times. With it also came such impositions as the enforcement of Five Year Plan goals, the meeting of industrial and agricultural quotas, and the insecurity which police and party supervision create. The old tribal and family organization of the peoples of Sinkiang (especially the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs) is quite remote from the Communist institutions of control whereby economic classes are ruled from party, military and bureaucratic centers. Many have rebelled against it or left their native country altogether.

A. Degree of Acceptance of Communism

Yet it would not be correct to say that discontent is universal in the Northwest. The Communists, well realizing the importance of the Islamic faith and the cultural values of the minorities, have done their best to appear as the protectors and promoters of their spiritual needs. To a large degree they have succeeded in creating that impression. To the Turks of Sinkiang the Communists appeared sincerely interested in the survival of Mohammedanism. They failed to realize that cultural control amounted to an attempt to ensure political control over the Islamic communities.

[67] The number of refugees from Central Asia testifies to the strong anti-Communist feelings that have existed among the Turkic peoples since the 1920's. However, Communist policies were such that many of those who remained have become loyal supporters of the regime. The technological improvements, especially in the field of irrigation, that the Communists have introduced,

• [466] impressed them greatly. The fact that under army supervision virtual slave-labor was used to accomplish this, has less signifi-

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cance than the fact that the hardships and disasters previously caused by poor precipitation now seem to have been eliminated. Livestock has improved, as has the economy in general. There is a fairly good public health program to protect humans, and an even better one for the cattle. With patriotic fanfare both men and beasts now must undergo inoculation campaigns. In the cultural sphere, the Communists have increased the number of schools and have extended adult and higher education. Religious practices are not restricted. The native theater, music and dance, as well as the publication of books and magazines in the native languages, are officially encouraged, and lend color to what is generously called "cultural autonomy." Women have been given equal rights with men, a policy that has caused that segment to look favorably on the whole Communist regime. Even the enforcement of public safety and order has revealed a positive side. It has stopped the endless inter-tribal struggles over pasture lands and irrigation rights, and has insured a certain degree of internal peace - even if a rather artificial one. Mechanization in agriculture and industrialization in general has brought a great deal of pride to the tribal people. The superficial rights they have obtained have created a surprising amount of loyalty toward the regime.

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As a result, the number of refugees leaving for Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Pakistan, has become smaller, and the organs of effective opposition within Sinkiang and Northwestern China have become considerably weaker, a condition not entirely attributable to the campaign of suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

B. "Counter-Revolutionary" Activities

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While all this may be true to some degree, there are sufficient indications that the negative aspects of Communism often are greater than the technological gains and cultural freedoms that have made it acceptable to a substantial part of the population. The campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries revealed that large numbers of people are antagonistic toward the Communist policies. (For incidents of this kind see section on Public Order and Safety and Political Dynamics). If these statements seem to be mutually contradictory, it must be remembered that elements of truth are present in both contentions. Any categorical evaluation of the attitudes of the people toward the Communist regime would surely be unrealistic. It must also be noted that official sources tend to exaggerate the evil and intensity of the counter-revolutionary activities in order to carry on an effective suppression campaign. This policy itself will continue to increase the dissatisfaction and insecurity of the people. Another point to be remembered is that opposition to the Communist administration is not uniform throughout the Northwest. The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, are inhabited by large numbers of Chinese,

159 Chinese Soviets, 1940, political commissar in the People's
*668 Liberation Army, member of the NW MAC, and a member of its
631 Financial and Economic Commission, vice-chairman of Kansu
496 People's Government and director of its Commission on Finan-
cial and Economic Affairs, director of the Northwest Railway
Trunk Line Engineering Bureau, and deputy head of the political
committee of the Northwest Railway Trunk Line. 1952, vice-
minister of Railways; 1955, vice-chairman of the National Con-
struction Commission in the State Council of the Central Peo-
ple's Government; member of the CCP. Member of the National
Defense Council, 1955.

• [466] Wang's major responsibility has been the extension of the
railway from Lanchou into Sinkiang, and he commanded the
troops which supervised the workers building the railway, many
of them slave laborers.

159 Wang, Tzu-i: Government and Party official
*668 Former director of the Office of Civil Affairs in the Shensi-
631 Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, 1950, member of the Northwest
Military and Administrative Council, member of its Land Re-
form Commission, vice-chairman of its Political and Legal
Commission, head of the Department of Personnel, and head of
the Department of Civil Affairs. 1953, vice-minister of Interior
in the Central People's Government.

Wu Hung-pin (1902-): Moslem leader, government official

Born in Kansu Province in 1902, reared in a Moslem family.
In 1930, graduated from the National Peking University; 1932,
took part in Anti-Japan activities in Shanghai during the Shang-
hai incident; 1936, organized Moslem People's League in the
Anti-Japan and National Salvation Association; 1945, organized
and headed the Lanchou branch of the Democratic League; 1949,
represented the league in the First Chinese People's Political
Consultative Council in Peking and was a member of its stand-
ing committee; in the same year, appointed mayor of Lanchou;
vice-chairman of the Military Control Commission in Lanchou,
and member of the Northwest Military and Administrative
Council. 1953-54, member of the Northwest Administrative
Council and served concurrently as mayor of Lanchou.

Concurrently, in Peking, he was a member of the Commis-
sion on Nationality Affairs, a member of the central committee
of the Democratic League, member of the Board of Directors
of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and a member of the
executive council of the China Peace Committee, an outfit or-
ganized in 1950 to rally the people to support the campaign to
resist America and aid Korea.

159 Wu was noted as an able organizer. He organized the students
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000 by the Soviet Bloc, particularly Russia.

*668 Manpower on railway construction is another interesting point.
 499 According to Dr. Ling Hung-shan's (veteran engineer of Free
 464 China) personal survey of the present Lanchou Alma Ata Line in
 • 466 1943, population along the whole line within the border of Sinkiang
 *175 did not exceed 600,000; the part in Kansu was also thinly populated.
 In view of the shortage of laborers, especially skilled workers,
 among the local population, it would be necessary for the Chinese
 Communists to use forced labor from other areas to work in this
 remote region. Although no exact information concerning this is
 available, as reported, out of a total of 23.25 million, about
 250,000 persons were forced to work in transportation projects
 as a whole in 1955. (Wu, Yuan-li. An Economic Survey of Com-
 [701] munist China. p. 323.) The armed forces were also employed
 for this purpose. For example, a unit of the First Field Army
 contracted with the Communist Government in the spring of 1950
 for the construction of the entire T'ien-shui-Lanchou Railway.
 According to the news reporter, Robert Guillain, the manpower
 resources in building the Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway consisted of
 the Northwest Chinese troops (as well as others) who had first
 "volunteered" to fight in Korea, and after being demobilized in
 Lanchou had again "volunteered" to remain as civilian workers.
 ("I Saw Communist China" The Saturday Evening Post, June 2,
 [48] 1956, p. 114.) Russian experts, of course, were invited to super-
 vise the railway construction.

B. Highways

491 In addition to the railway construction which is carried out at
 499 full speed in the Northwest, highway building and renovating were
 *668 greatly developed. There is not much information available con-
 *175 cerning new highway construction in Shensi province. The only
 report available said that during 1954 over 210 kilometers of
 highway were repaired and 115 kilometers of new highways added,
 in addition to the renovation of the Han-chung-Pai-ho Highway.

In Kansu, highways radiate from Lanchou towards Chinghai,
 Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shensi and Szechwan. The most im-
 portant highways built in 1953 were the Lanchou-Hsia-ho-A-pa
 (in Szechwan), Hsia-ho-Min-hsien and T'ien-shui-Chang-chia-
 chuan lines with a total of 630 kilometers. In 1955, over 1000 kilo-
 meters of highways were either constructed or repaired in Kansu.
 One from Lanchou led to the Ching-tai coal field, one ran from
 Lanchou to the Liu-chia Gorge where the gigantic hydro-electric
 resources along the Yellow River are located, and another ran from
 Shan-tan to the Shantan coal area. The 426 kilometer section be-
 tween Tun-huang of Kansu to Shuerhkuli in Sinkiang was being
 renovated.